THE ADVANTAGES OF THE Act of Security,

Compar'd with THESE of the

Intended UNION:

Founded on the

Revolution-Principles

Publiſh'd by

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OR,

The Preſent Happy Condition of *Scotland*, with reſpect to the Certainty of its Future Honourable and Advantageous Eſtabliſhment; Demonſtrated.

Wherein is ſhew'd,

That both the Projected UNION, and a NOMINATION OF A SUCCESSOR to the Crown, tho' with *Limitations*, cannot fail to Compleat the MISERIES of This Kingdom; But that the ACT OF SECURITY Alone, if Adher'd to, will infallibly Retrive Our loſt Happineſs, and make Us a Rich and Glorious People.

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THE ADVANTAGES OF THE Act of Security, &c.

THE Assertion expressed in the Title Page, *to wit*, *That* Scotland *is at present in a Happy Condition with respect to the Future Establishment*; will, I doubt not, be Consider'd at first View, as a Banter, or *Irony*, cast, by the Author, upon his Perishing Country; or at least, as a *Paradox*, no Wit can make good.

Our Trade (without which no People can Flourish) is intirely Sunk;-- Our Coin is stoln away under-hand, or carried off above-board, and dilapidated in another Kingdom;-- The Publick Revenues are diverted into Private-Pockets;-- The Best Blood of our Men, is let-out in a Quarrel we are little concerned about,-- The Laurels we win are of no Use, but to adorn the Brows of our proud Adversaries, and ancient Foes;-- We gain Battels without Glory, and we carry on a War without Hopes to be Comprehended in the Treaty; or at least to be made Sharers in the Advantages of Peace;-- We are Unknown, or Despised Abroad;-- At Home, we groan under the worst of Evils, Divisions in Principles, both of Religion and State; Foreign Influence in our Councils and Judicatories; and an universal Poverty, which, like a Gangrene, has overspread the whole Nation, and by a Natural Conse-

ſequence, has dejected the Spirits of the People, and corrupted the Manners and Minds of the Great Ones.

Hence it is, That our Nobleſt Endeavours, and Eſſays towards Improvement, are cruſh'd in the Bud; --- That the wiſeſt of our Laws, are either deny'd the Royal Sanction, or Undermined, and in danger of being Cancell'd; --- That the Freedom and Liberty of our Senate ſeems Over-awed, and the Rights and Privileges of our Capital Invaded by a Standing Force; --- And in fine, That the Properties of the Subject, and Independency of the Crown, are very nigh being Surrendred to a Foreign State.

'Tis unneceſſary to Inlarge upon this *Melancholy Theme*; there is not a *Scotſman* in Beeing, but is ſatisfy'd of the Great Miſeries which attend, and the much Greater, which Threaten his Country. *Whig* and *Tory*, Court and Country, (if I may ſpeak the Language of the Vulgar) are agreed in this Point; and thoſe Jarring Parties, that otherwiſe ſeem to Diſſent the one from the other, for the very ſake and pleaſure of Diſſenting; as they all feel, ſo they own the Weight of theſe Burthens, under which the Nation is a Sinking. If they differ, 'tis not in the Premiſs, which is indeed uncontrovertable, but in the Conſequence every one draws from it, as he is Influenced by the various Principles and Notions we are poſſeſſed and diſtracted with.

Some tell us, That the only way to Retrive our Languiſhing State, is, *To* Unite with *England*, in the Terms agreed upon by our Commiſſioners; Others would perſwade us to Settle our Crown upon the *Engliſh* Succeſſor, with proper Limitations; And Others would have us to Separate intirely from *England*, and to pitch upon a King of our OWN.

This laſt Remedy may, perhaps, prove a *Catholicon* for all our Diſtempers in due time; but 'tis a Medicine we cannot take in at preſent. --- We are far from having any Thoughts of

of setting up any one Living, in the Place and Room of our most Gracious Sovereign, who now Reigns over us (and long may She Reign and Prosper) --- Rebellion is a Crime of the deepest Dye, and such as never fails to prove its own Punishment, as dear bought Experience has but too often taught these Nations. Wherefore, if we are to separate intirely from *England*, we cannot effect it, till after Queen *Ann*'s Demise, and then it will be early enough to talk of that matter, --- For till then, 'tis not to be supposed, we can either Treat with any fit Person to Sway our Scepter; nor, if we should fix upon any such, will we be allowed to have an Act fairly passed, much less Ratified by the Royal Assent, in his Favours. --- It remains then, that we speak only a little to the two first Remedies Propos'd.

As to the *Incorporating Union*, as conceived in the Articles of Agreement, --- So much has been already said, and written, and so well, upon that Score, --- So many *Addresses* are come to Town, and presented to the Parliament, from all Corners of the Kingdom, *Expressing the Dissent of the Nation* from It; --- So many *Instructions* have been Transmitted from Shires, and Burghs, *Commanding and Requiring* their Respective *Commissioners*, *To Vote against It*; --- And so many loud *Testimonies* are daily given by all Ranks of People, *of* their *Dislike and Discontent about It*. --- That it is as *Plain* as any *Demonstration*, That the Opinion of our Eminent Lawiers Sir *George Mackenzie* and Sir *John Nisbet*, Remains still the Opinion, and Sense of most, if not all *Scotsmen*, Women and Children.

And if the Parliament, by a Plurality of Voices, shall *Ratifie* the Treaty, 'tis most certain that somewhat more perswasive, than *the Assertion of some*, who tell us, *That we must be made Happy against our Wills*. Nay, somewhat more than the Authority of Parliament (how Great and August soever, it is

owned

owned to be) must be made use of to *Enforce* these Articles upon the Judgments, and Inclinations of the People.

I plead not in Favours of the *Mob*, and I am far from Vindicating the Irregularities of the *Street*; -- But I presume to think, That now we are upon the *Revolution-Foot*; no good Revolutioner will be offended, if I attempt to prove by *Revolution-Principles*, That *the Parliament cannot finally conclude and determine the Whole of the Union, so long as the People shall continue to express their Dissent.* These Principles may be seen in a late Treatise, Entitled, *The Original Right of the People of* England, *Examined and Asserted*, done by the Famous Mr. *De Foe*, and Dedicated to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons of *England.* This Treatise may be had in any of our Book-sellers Shops in Town, and whoever peruses it, will find, That there can be nothing more *a propos.* The Ingenious Author, lays down in the *first place*, the following *Maxims*, as so many Uncontravertable Truths.

1. *Salus Populi, Suprema lex.* All Government, and consequently our whole Constitution, was Originally designed, and is maintained, for the Support of the People's Property, who are the Governed.
2. That all the Members of Government, whether King, Lords, or Commons, if they Invert the Great End of their Institution; the Publick Good ceases to be in the same Publick Capacity, -- and Power retraits to its Original.
3. That no Collective, or Representative Body of Men whatsoever, in Matters of Politicks, any more than Religion, are, or ever have been Infallible.
4. That Reason is the Test and Touch-stone of Laws; and that all Law, or Power, that is Contradictory to Reason, is *ipso facto* void in it self, and ought not to be Obeyed.

From

From these four Generals, he inferrs a great many Consequences, I shall excerpt, and Transcribe only a few of them.

'If either of the three Powers, *viz. King, Lords* or *Commons*, do dispense with, suspend, or otherways break any of 'the Known Laws. --- They injure the Constitution, and the 'Power so acting, ought to be restrain'd by the Powers not 'concurring; --But if all the three Powers should join in such 'an Irregular Action, the Constitution suffers a Convulsion, 'Dies, and is dissolved of Course.

'That every Person concern'd in the Law, is in his measure a Judge of the Reason of the Law.

'That every single Power has an Absolute Negative upon 'the Acts of the other; and if the People, who are without 'Doors, find reason to Object, they may do it by Petitioning.

'If the Peaceable Applications *made by the People without 'doors* fail, they may associate for their Mutual Defence a'gainst any Invasion of their Liberties and Religion.

'That if the Mal-Administration of Governours have ex'tended to Tyranny and Oppression, to Destruction of Right 'and Justice, Overthrowing the Constitution, and Abusing 'the People; The People have thought it lawful to re-as'sume the Right of Government in their own hands, and to reduce their Governours to Reason.

'The present happy Restoring of our Liberty and Consti'tution is owing to this Fundamental Maxim,

That Kings when they descend to Tyranny,
Dissolve the Bond, and leave the Subject free.

'If the People are justifyable in this Procedure against 'the King, I hope, I shall not be Censured, if I say, That if 'any one should ask me, Whether they have not the same 'Right in the same Cases against any of the three Heads of 'Constitution, *viz.* The *Lords and Commons as well as the King?* I dare not answer in the Negative. --- If this

not

'not true, I can give but a ſlender Account of our late Re-
'volution.

'In this Univerſal Right of the People, conſiſts our Gene-
'ral Safety: For notwithſtanding all the Beauty of our Con-
'ſtitution, this Noble well contrived Syſtem has been over-
'whelmed; the Government has been inverted, the Peoples
'Liberties have been trampled on ---- And what has re-
'ſtored us? The laſt Reſort has been to the People; *Vox*
'*Dei* has been found there, not in the Repreſentatives, but
'in their Original, *the Repreſented.*

'And what has been the Engine that has led the Nation
'to it? The Reaſon and Nature of the Thing. Reaſon go-
'verns Men when they are Maſters of their Senſes, as natu-
'rally as Fire flies upwards, or Water deſcends.

'The Power veſted in the Heads of our Conſtitution, is
'veſted in them by the People; and the Power, which is Ori-
'ginal, is Superior. It cannot be ſuppoſed this Original
'Fountain, *the People*, ſhould give up all its Waters. --- Nor
'has the Streams any Power to turn back upon the Foun-
'tain, and invert its own Original. All ſuch Motions are
'excentrick and unnatural.

'There muſt always remain a Supream Power in the Ori-
'ginal to ſupply, in Caſe of the Diſſolution of Delegated
'Power.

'If Either or All the Branches, to whom this Power is de-
'legated, invert the Deſign, *to wit*, The End of their Power;
'the Right they have to that Power ceaſes, and they be-
'come Tyrants and Uſurpers of a Power, they have no
'Right to.

'Tis poſſible for a Houſe of Commons to be miſled by
'Factions and Parties; --'Tis poſſible for them to be brib'd by
'Penſions and Places,-- To betray their Truſt, and abuſe the
'People, who entruſt them; and if the People ſhould have

'no

'no Redreſs in ſuch a Caſe, then would the Nation be in the 'Hazard of being Ruined by their own Repreſentatives.

'We have ſeen Liſts of 180 Members of Parliament, who 'received *Private Penſions* from the Court; and if any Body 'ſhall ask, Whether that Parliament preſerv'd the Ballance 'of Power? I am not afraid to anſwer to the Negative.

'No Man would give a Groat to ſit *in Parliament*, where 'he cannot get a Groat honeſtly for ſitting; unleſs there 'were either *Parties* to gratify, *Profits* to be made, or Inter-'eſt to ſupport.

'The People, who are the Original and End of the Conſti-'tution, and have the Main Concern in it, ought to be very 'ſolicitous --- and always to ſhew their Diſlike and Reſent-'ment at any *Publick* Encroachment, which either Branch 'of the Conſtitution ſhall make on each other, or on the 'Whole, be it by their own Repreſentatives, or any where 'elſe.

'How it comes to paſs, that Evil Miniſters have arriv'd 'to Impunity, for what is paſt; and again to be truſted 'both in the Court and in the *Parliament* with the *Peoples* 'Liberties, is a Myſtery paſt our Reaches.

'If I had no Name my ſelf, I would ſet down theirs; or 'if I had a *Preſs* in the Clouds to print their *Practices*, the 'World ſhould not be ignorant; but ſince it is not ſo, I ſhall 'only ſay, *By their Works ye ſhall know them.*

'Inſtructions to Members of *Parliament* are like the *Pow-*'er given to an *Arbitrator*: If an *Arbitrator* inverts the *De-*'ſign of his *Principal*, he deſtroys the End of his Election.

'The Houſe of Commons are our Sanctuary, the Nation's 'Treaſurers, and the Defenders of their Liberties; but all 'theſe Titles ſignifie, That at the ſame time, they are the 'Nation's Servants. --- They were originally made for the 'People, by them they are continued, from them they re-

ceive

'ceive their Power, and to them in Reaſon they ought to be 'Accountable.

This much I have copied from Mr. *De Foe*, and I think I need not make any Application of theſe owned Principles to our preſent Circumſtances: the People by their Addreſſes, Inſtructions, &c. ſeem to have done that to my hand; and 'tis hoped, That whatever Steps our Parliament has as yet made towards the Union, they will not in their great Wiſdom think, That they have Power enough lodged in themſelves to conclude upon the whole, *a Treaty* which their Original, and (if I may uſe the words of the Author abovecited) *their Superiour*, the People generally look upon as *ſubverſive of* their own *Conſtitution*, as well as of *the Independency and Sovereignty of the Nation*; *and* that, *not only contrary to the peremptory Deciſions of our moſt Monarchical Juriſconſulters* (who tho' they ſtretched the Prerogative Royal beyond all its former Limits, yet were ſo bold as to aſſert, That *neither King, nor Eſtates of Parliament, nor both together could effect an Union of this Nature without the Conſent of every Individual* Scots *Man*) *but alſo directly in Oppoſition to theſe very Principles, they themſelves went upon at the Revolution*; which muſt have been Unjuſt and Criminal to the Higheſt Degree of Iniquity, if the Principles it was founded upon be not of Eternal Truth. --- 'No, I am ſo far from thinking, That the Peoples Repreſentatives will over-turn or endanger our Conſtitution, Liberties or Independency, in Spite of the Peoples Diſſent; that on the contrary I am of Opinion, They would not Ratify the Treaty, as it is expreſſed in the Articles publiſhed, altho' their Conſtituents had impowered them to that purpoſe. And my Reaſon is, Becauſe it cannot be reaſonably ſuppoſed, but by this time, all, or moſt part of the Members of the Houſe, muſt needs be ſenſible, now *the Articles* have been *maturely examined and canvaſſed* both within and

and without doors, that *We are for ever undone, if they are finally approved of, and consented to.*

All that ever was *said*, or indeed can be *alledged* to purpose, by the Patrons of the Treaty, comes in short to this: — *We shall have a free Trade as* England, — *We shall share in all the Product of their Plantations*, — *Their Manufactures, Harbours, Fleets* (and what not,) *shall be ours*; — *and by consequence we shall instantly become Rich and Populous.* The Vanity of this Chimerical *Ens Rationis* (if that expressive Word, in my sense, may be allowed to pass) has been discovered, and exposed sufficiently by Better Heads and Pens than mine: but *the Address of our Royal Burrows*, as it has put the Thing out of all doubt, so it ought to prevent all further Disputes about it. They, and they alone know what Trade is, and their Judgment in this Case, is to me, and I hope, will be to Every Body, in lieu of *a Definitive Sentence*, and an *Irrevocable Decree*: The *Reason* is obvious, and it *is built upon* these *never erring Principles.*

1*mo*. *Artifici Credendum in Arte sua.* That every Artist, much more a Society of Artists, are to be more trusted, and are more knowing in their own *Art*, than any other Men otherways *Imployed.*

2*do*. That no Man, much less a Body of Men, will, nay, nor can act against their known *Interest*, unless for, and in View of a greater and clearer *Interest.*

I do not say, that the Royal Burrows may not, as other Men, Err and be Deceived, even in their own Business; but I say, That by the first Rule, they are in this matter the Only Men within or without the *Nation*, that are to be Rely'd upon. *And* the second Rule is plain, That they could not but stand for the *Union*, if they Judged it not their clearer and

greater

greater Intereſt to Diſſent from it; -- But ſo it is, that they have Diſſented, and that notwithſtanding all the Intrigues, Solicitations, nay, and Private Intereſt of a great Number of their Members, that lay in the way, and ſtood croſs to their Reſolution. 'Tis then evident, that ſince our *Trade, the* only *bait* offered *to Catch us, cannot be Improved by the Union*, we have made but an ill Bargain upon the main.

Yet I ſhall for once *Suppoſe*, That our Bargain is both Advantageous and Honourable, which, GOD knows, it *is not*. Upon this Suppoſition I ask, (as others have done, but I ſhall urge the *Querie* a little further than any I have yet ſeen) *What Aſſurance have we, That the* Engliſh, *when they have gained their Point*, (viz. *The Succeſſion to our Crown Eſtabliſhed in the Perſons of their Kings for ever*,) *will ſtand to ſuch of the Articles as Favour our Intereſt?* To inſtance only in one, *What Aſſurance have we, That they will not in an After-game, overturn That which is deareſt to moſt of us*, *OUR CHURCH GOVERNMENT?* I know, that ſome of our greateſt Pretenders to *Presbytery*, as well as to Politicks, are pleaſed to tell us, That by this means, the Church (which, by the way, they judge but precarious amongſt our ſelves, notwithſtanding our Fundamental, and once thought Sacred *Claim of Right*, and all the Out-works with which we have environed it) will be much more effectually ſecured; That its Continuation in *North-Britain*, is a Fundamental Article of the Union, and a Condition *ſine qua non*; --- That the *South-Britains* will take care, how they Incroach upon this Immoveable Baſis; --- But that, if they ſhould; Why, we are *Scotſmen* again, --- We'll remind our Ancient *Motto*, *NEMO ME IMPUNE LACESSET*; --- The Union is diſſolved, and the King of *Great-Britain* muſt content himſelf with the Title of King of *England*, and the Government of but half the Iſland.

There's

There's so much Fallacy and Sophistry in this Scheme, that I admire, it can take with any, but such as long to see the Eversion of our Church, as well as State.--- If Prelacy is set up in *North-Britain*, they say, the Union dissolves of Course. I say, it does not. But it is a Fundamental Article of the Union; very true, and I hope our Constitution had Fundamental Laws (if there are any such) before this time: Which of these has not been overturned by the Parliament of *Scotland*; and justly too, as has been pretended? *The Parliament has overturned Popery, Presbytery, Episcopacy* in their Turns; -- The Parliament has *Raised Armies against the King, has Forfeited the King, has approved of the killing of the King* (*a*): The Parliament *has given up their own and the People's Rights, Liberties, and Properties to the King* (*b*):-- What more Fundamental, or Sacred than Oaths? The Parliament *has swallowed down to their own Stomachs, and impos'd upon their Constituents, Oaths not only Contradictory to one another, but also Contradictory to, and dissonant in themselves*; -- And now, the Parliament if they go on in the Union, must needs think, That they have Power enough to Evert, not only the Sovereignty and Independency of the Nation, but their own very Being, and that in Defiance of, and maugre the People, the Fountain of their Power; and what can be more Fundamental, than the Being of a Parliament? The Parliaments of *England* are vested with as much Power, and they have exerced the same, in a much more flagrant manner, than ours ever did: And here again, I beg leave to express my self in the Terms of Mr. *De Foe*; you may see his abovementioned Treatise.

'We have seen, *says he*, Parliaments comply with things to 'the Ruin of the Nation; -- And we have seen Parliaments 'Quarrel with Kings to the Overturning of the Constitution, 'Dissolving the House of Lords, and Suppressing the Monarchy;

(*a*) *James* III. (*b*) To King *James* VI. and King *Charles* II.

'chy ;-- We have ſeen Parliaments comply Backward and 'Foreward with the Fate, and Fortune of Princes, in Depoſing 'and Re-inthroning them alternately; -- We have ſeen a Par-'liament Confirm the Uſurpation of *Richard* the Third, the 'greateſt Tyrant that ever *England* brought forth ;-- King '*Henry* the Eighth made a Popiſh Parliament pull down the 'Supremacy of *Rome*, and ſet up the King's ; -- Queen *Mary* 'Re-eſtabliſhed Popery, and unravelled the Reformation of 'King *Edward* ; and ſtill the Parliament conſented. ---- One 'Parliament voted Queen *Mary* Legitimate, and Queen *Eliſa-'beth* a Baſtard : -- Another Parliament Legitimated Queen '*Eliſabeth*, and Repudiated Queen *Mary*. ---- Queen *Eliſa-'beth* undid all her Siſter had done, --- and all was by Autho-'rity of Parliament.

Thus it is plain, That both Parliaments ſeparately, ſome-times with, ſome times without Court-Influence, have build-ed and pulled down, Eſtabliſhed and Overturned, all that is, or can be thought Fundamental in our reſpective Conſtitu-tions ; And ſhall they, when United in One, have leſs Power ; Or is it likely they'll prove leſs daring ? Does the Parliament of *England* Forfeit any of its Rights or Pretenſions, becauſe united with that of *Scotland* ?

'Tis granted, the Parliament of *Scotland*, though cruelly Mutilated and Weakned as to its Numbers, can forgoe none of its Privileges, becauſe united with That of *Eng-land*.--But they are united upon theſe Terms ; yes, but may they not Re-unite, or continue their Union upon other Terms? --- If our preſent Parliament can unite upon Condition, That Presbytery ſhall continue ; may they not unite if they pleaſe, without expreſſing that Condition ? And if they may now, why not afterwards ? ---- The *Engliſh* Parliament will, no doubt, pleaſe to Declare, That there is no Union but in the Terms propoſed : -- And this I conceive they'll do for no other

Reaſon,

Reaſon, but becauſe our Parliament will have it ſo. But if our Parliament, I mean our Threeſcore Repreſentatives, or the Majority of them (for by them, as is ſaid, we are as fully Repreſented as at preſent by near 300) ſhall by any *Means* (and Means may be uſed, we all know) be induced to let their Collegues underſtand, That we are wearied with Presbytery, that the Continuation of it is no more a Favour, or Benefit, but rather a Grievance to *North-Britain*; that if it is a Right, they are willing to paſs from it as ſuch: ---And that they deſire the happy Union of the State may not only be continued, but alſo more cloſely and laſtingly Cemented by Uniformity and Union of the Church. I ſay, If our Repreſentatives in the *Britiſh* Parliament ſhall ever be prevailed with, or impoſed upon to ſpeak this Language, Is it probable the *South-Britains* will reject the Deſirable Overture? No, but it is Treaſon for any to propoſe, or move any ſuch thing; and were it otherwiſe, 'tis not probable our Repreſentatives will betray us, and their Truſt, to that Degree. --- It was Treaſon to mention or move the raiſing Arms againſt the Forfeiting or Killing the King. --- It was Treaſon againſt our King to Inthrone another in his ſtead, & *vice verſa*; --- It was Treaſon to Annihilate the Houſe of Lords, or extrude the beſt Members from the Houſe of Commons; ---It was Treaſon to reform from Popery; --- And in a word, it was Treaſon to mention or move any of theſe Alterations or Changes we have ſeen brought about, and Authoriſed by both Parliaments. --- And, if I miſtake not, it was not long ago Treaſon in *England* to move any thing directly or indirectly againſt the Succeſſion of the Princeſs *Sophia*, as eſtabliſhed in the laſt Parliament of King *William*; --- And now it is Treaſon in *England* to ſay, That the Parliament may not as yet alter the Succeſſion, and make void the Act that has eſtabliſhed the ſame; ---- And after all,

we

we find not, that Government is always ungirt, that the Conſtitution proves a Non-entity, or that the *Nation* turns all a Mob, as it's pretended, how oft the Parliament breaks in upon Laws we conſidered as Fundamental and *Unalterable*; on the contrary, with whatſoever Innovations they have thought fit to make, we have for the moſt part thought fit to comply. And if our Repreſentatives in the *Britiſh* Parliament ſhall ever dare to comply with the Invaſion of this, or any other Fundamental Article of the Treaty; I do not ſee what-for-a *Mob* will reſcue us; --- And I am afraid, that altho the *Union* be ſaid to be Diſſolved, we'll be made to know, that the Government is neither ungirt, nor the Conſtitution turn'd to a *Non-entity*; -- The Cuſtoms, Exciſe, Impoſitions, Plantation-Trade, Draw-backs, *&c.* will remain as before, only our Churches ſhall be more ſplendidly adorned with *Altars*, Organs and *Unlighted* Candles, and our Churchmen with Surplices, Gowns and Mitres. --- But it is not probable our Repreſentatives will betray us; -- It may be ſo, but I am heartily ſorry, that all the Security we have for our Church Government, is brought to this, that it is not probable. I could wiſh, that it were not poſſible:

But as to the probability of the thing, Do there as yet remain no Prelatiſts among us? Do they not ſwarm all over the *Highlands* of *Scotland*, the North and the *South*? Are there none that are Luke-warm in the Weſt? Are all proof againſt Bribes, and Preferment? Can no Falſe Brother be found out, no one Presbyter, that will ſay to the meaning of the Popiſh Clergy, *nolo Epiſcopari*, that is, in English, *I will accept of a Biſhoprick*? Are all State-Tricks banished from among us? --- Our Epiſcopal Miniſters had the Confidence, not long ago, to Addreſs Her preſent Majeſty, and their Partiſans to Solicite the very Houſe of Parliament for a Toleration, and for my part, I ſhould not at all be ſurpriſed, to ſee

as

as many Addreſſes, with as numerous Subſcriptions preſented from our *Shires* and Burghs, to the *Britiſh* Parliament, Deſiring the Re-eſtabliſhment of Epiſcopacy, as there have been offered to the preſent Parliament of *Scotland*, againſt the Union; and if this is not brought about, I dare ſay, The High Church Party in *England*, are at a low Ebb; how long they may remain in this drooping Condition, I cannot tell, but this is certain, —. The Church of *England* is ſoInterwoven with the State, the Prelates and Curates have ſo much Intereſt in Town and Country, Parliament and Court, that whatever ſome Fantaſtick Brains may Fancy, or draw from the preſent Face of Affairs, it will be no eaſy Task for us to overturn them at any time; but it may be very eaſy for them, if ever the Court pleaſes, but to give an Encouraging look, to Undoe us to all Intents and Purpoſes. This, I preſume, I have ſufficiently ſhowen.

Hence it follows, That we neither can go on in the Union as conceived in the Articles of the Treaty; nor if we ſhould, is that like to retrive our loſt Happineſs, but rather to compleat our Miſeries. I ſhall proceed to enquire in few words, how far we may be Bettered, by Nominating the *Engliſh* Succeſſor with proper Limitations. This indeed ſeems to me a very unneceſſary Province, our *Malheurs* took date from the Union of the two Crowns on the Head of a *Scotſman*; and if an Hundred Years Experience, is not ſufficient to Teach us one good Leſſon, I know not what will, or can do it. Since that Fatal Day our Prince took Journey for *London*, our Calamities have been ſuch, as can neither be heightned by Aggravation, nor leſſened or palliated with *Excuſes*; nay, nor ſcarcely to be reckoned with Numbers. 'Twere in vain to enter into the Detail; we all own that we are *Unhappy*, and that, becauſe our Sovereigns Reſide in *England*. But it may be worth our While to Examine, whether Limitation upon

our Sovereigns Reſiding there, may not mend the Matter; and whether we may not look for more Kindneſs and Regard, from the Family of *Hanover*, than we have met with from the Houſe of *Stewart*.

The Laſt had its firſt Beeing and Riſe amongſt our ſelves; it was deſcended from ſome of our Noble Families, and others were deſcended from it. -- The Kingdom was full of Kinſmen to the King, and their Relation was not ſo very Remote as to be forgotten; -- The Veins of our Monarchs, were filled with *Scots* Blood, their Sirname was *Scotiſh*; -- King *James* the Sixth, and his Son King *Charles* the Firſt Breathed our *Scots* Air, and we could not but Conſider their Children as *Scotſmen*; -- They had alſo a warm-ſide for us; -- King *James* the Sixth, did all he could to procure us a Federal Union with *England*, and his Endeavours that way, gave Birth to no ſmall Commotions, and Intrigues againſt Him, as appears by a Letter of Thanks, written to His Majeſty from his Privy Council in *Scotland*, and lately Printed in Town; he Incouraged our Separate Trade, not being able to obtain a Joint One, all he could, or durſt; Witneſs *Nova Scotia*, and our Order of Knights-Baronets, which from thence had its Being, -- His Court at *London*, nay, and the whole Kingdom of *England* was Peopled with his Country-men, who by his Favour, were raiſed to Preferment and Honours, to the Inexpreſſible Diſſatisfaction of the *Engliſh*; -- Witneſs what Mr. *De Foe* has written upon the Matter, in the following Verſes, which, for their great Beauty, I ſhall Tranſcribe.

The Royal Branch from Pict-land *did ſucceed,*
With Troops of Scots, *and Scabs from North-by-*Tweed.
The firſt ſeven Years of his Pacifick Reign,
Made Him, and half His Nation Engliſhmen.
Scots *from the Northern Frozen Banks of* Tay,
With Packs and Plaids, came Whigging all away:

Thick

Thick as the Locusts, which in Egypt *swarm'd,*
With Pride, and Hungry Hopes compleatly Arm'd:
With Native Truth, Diseases, *and* no Money,
Plunder'd our Canaan *of the Milk and Honey.*
Here they grew quickly Lords, and Gentlemen; ---

King *Charles* the first gave us, though against his own Principles, such Concessions, as all the Victories gain'd over him by the *English*, nay, nor Death it self, could not extort from him in their Favour. -- King *Charles* the second, Rescued us from a *Malheur*, no less than Conquest and Slavery; and he attempted several times, tho in vain, to have the *Unjust Act of Navigation* Repealed. Our Country-men made a Figure at His Court, which dazled the very Eyes of the Invidious *English*. In his Reign, as in that of his Brother, the late King *James*, the *English* Complained of *Scots* Influence, and under both, *Scotsmen* were Secretaries of State for *England*. -- And in fine, his Daughter, the present Queen *Ann*, in spite of *English* Counsel, has Graciously favoured us with the Greatest Temporal Blessing, we could beg from Heaven it self, as shall be made appear, when I come to talk of *the Act of Security*.

So true it is, that Love to one's Native Soil, is Ingrafted in the very Nature of Man, and that our Hearts move as Naturally backwards to the Origin of our Blood, as the Waters when they return to the Sea. -- Yet we were Miserable under all the abovementioned, our Natural and Native Sovereigns, and it could not be otherways: -- They liv'd in *England*, and must needs Resign that Brighter and Richer Crown, or Comply with their wealthier Subjects, in the Oppression of the Poorer. -- I do not say, that they wanted their Personal Failings, mistaken Zeal for Religion in two, and Thirst of Arbitrary Power all in four, a Vice Inseparable from the Es-

fence of Monarchs, brought Great and Signal Miſchiefs upon us and themſelves; And who is the Prophet can tell us, but the Houſe of *Hanover* may be tainted with the like and Greater Blemiſhes? -- This is certain, the Princes of that Family are no more *Scotſmen*, than moſt part of the Sovereigns in *Europe*; Since theſe laſt, are likeways deſcended from our Royal Blood by Women, and many in a nearer Degree, and ſtraighter Line: Is it likely, the *Engliſh* Air will Naturalize them *Scots*? -- Will they eaſily forget the Backwardneſs we have ſhown to their Acceſſion to our Throne? --- Gratitude is a Debt they ought to pay, not to us, but to the *Engliſh*, who have procured, or rather extorted the Compliment from us. --- Is it probable, they will be inclinable to Value or Protect our Church Government, accuſtomed as they are, with all the Pageantry of the *Romiſh* Rites and Ceremonies? can they chooſe but to delight at the ſame Shews in the Church of *England*? --- There they cannot fail of a Dr. *Parker* or Biſhop of *Oxford*, to tell them, *That the beſt and moſt Orthodox of the* Anglican *Church, have with the whole Church Catholick, always believed and taught the Real Preſence in the Euchariſt.* -- There they'll be made to underſtand, *That the* Anglican *Church is a Paſſive Non-reſiſting Church*, moſt ſound, and wholeſome Doctrine in the Ears of all Princes: But that *the* Scots *Kirk is Defenſive, Offenſive, Rebellious*, &c. Words all Princes abhor. There, in fine, they'll be told, That the Church of *England* owes its Reformation and Purity in a great Meaſure to their *Lutheran Bucer*; but that the *Scots Calviniſts* believe the Conſubſtantiation of *Ausbourg* to be much of a piece, if not more Abſurd, and Erroneous than the *Tridentine* Tranſubſtantiation.

We may gueſs at, but it's impoſſible to know with certainty, what will be: But if we may be allowed to Conjecture Future things by paſt Parities, we need but look back

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to the late Reign of King *William*, who though a *Dutchman*, as the Duke of *Hanover*, was not so Remote from our *Scots* Blood, Civil Constitution, nor Church Government, yet it has been made out by Mr. *Hodges* and others, that we suffered more, at least in our Trade, under his Reign, than in all the other Reigns since the Union of the Crowns. *The Business of* CALEDONIA, is an Instance with a Witness, and such, *as no length of time will ever wear out of our Memories*; Not to mention *the Massacre of* GLENCO, which (by whose Advice, or for what Reason, GOD knows) *He would never suffer to be punished, though he was Addressed by the Parliament to that purpose.* But why should I spend Time and Paper upon a Subject so throughly understood? ---- *The Wounds, our Trade, Liberties, our Sovereignty, our Fortunes, and Lives received under that Prince,* (as Great, and as Good as he was) *are not yet healed up; and the Scarrs are to be seen in all the Corners of our Country:* ---- *The very* CLAIM OF RIGHT, *on which he accepted the* Scotish *Crown, was Invaded by the Continuation of one Parliament during his whole Reign.* And this last Consideration leads me naturally to speak a little to the *Limitations* proposed to be put on the *English* Successor.

I shall take it as granted, That our Parliament may be vested with a Power to dispose of most Places of Trust, --- to make Peace & War, to levy Troops --- to Reward and Punish Persons of all Ranks, *&c.* Cannot this Parliament, Influenced by a prevailing Court-party, divest it self of all those Grand Privileges? I have said enough to what a Parliament can do, under another Head. ---- Or, cannot these Privileges be Invaded by an Ambitious Monarch, encouraged and supported by a Superior Force? ---- And if they should, *From whence shall we seek for Redress?* We may Petition, --- We did it again, and again in the Business of *Darien*, of *Glenco*, and the *Long Parliament*, but in vain. --- Shall we Revolt? if we do, we

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we'll find, I fear, that there is great Odds betwixt the inconsiderable Force of a few Rebels (for so shall we be call'd) on the one side, and our own Court-Party on the other, back'd with all the Power of an *English* King, and an Elector of the Empire. But I shall again Suppose, That no Encroachments will, or can be made upon the *Limitations*. What then? 'Tis Trade that we want, and I hear of *No Limitations yet proposed, that will effectually promote our Trade*, --- *Or perswade the* English, *That our Profit is not their Loss*; ---- *Or bar their King from stopping all Subscriptions in* England, *or* Hamburg, *that may contribute towards our Encouragement*, --- *Or from emitting* PROCLAMATIONS *in* Barbados, Jamaica, *St.* Christophers, *&c.* PROHIBITING *these Plantations to furnish our Trafficking Company with Wood and Water for ready Money*; --*Or*, in fine, *from disowning at the* Spanish *Court our Liberties to Trade, or Right to Settle in* Darien.

Indeed if Her present Majesty could be allowed by Her *English* Subjects, as She may be entreated by Her *Scots* to apply to, and obtain from King *Charles* of *Spain* (who to be sure, can refuse Her nothing in his Power to grant) a Ratification and Resignation in our Favour, of that Spot of Ground, he has no real Claim to; --- And if the *English* would generously re-imburse the Charges we have been at, make up our Losses, which they have occasioned, and as heartily concur with us, and repossess us there, as we have done with them at *Blenheim*, *Hochstat*, and *Ramellies*; I should then be apt to think, they design us better things in time coming, than we have met with at their hands hitherto. --- Nor should I be so very averse from embarking once more in an *English* Bottom, and permitting an *English* Pilot to sit at the Helm of our Affairs. But till they do us one kind thing, I must conclude, they design us none.

Thus

Thus I have Eſſayed to prove, and, I think, have done it, beyond the Poſſibility of a ſolid Reply; That if we are Miſerable at preſent, we muſt needs be much more ſo, if either we Incorporate our Kingdom with *England*, or beſtow our Crown, tho' with Limitations, upon the *Engliſh* Succeſſor.

Yet I ſay, We are in a preſent Condition of becoming more Happy and Flouriſhing than ever we were, or could have propoſed to be, perhaps, ſince we had a Name, or a Being; --- And I ſay, That to attain to this, we need but Inaction, and to ſtand by a while, and look on. Good GOD! what for a Buſtle is this, we make about Union and Succeſſion? --- What Spur is this that pricks us on, ſo prepoſterouſly to our Ruin? --- For what, all this Heat and Haſte? *Feſtina lente*, in the Name of GOD, let us but haſten ſlowly, and by this Means, we ſhall ſurely arrive at our longed for, laſting Harbour of Glory and Wealth: --- We have by the Providence of GOD the Bounty of our Queen, and the Wiſdom and Courage of our worthy Patriots, an ACT OF SECURITY; let us keep by this, let this be conſidered as the *MAGNA CHARTA* we are never to part with, and in a ſhort time we are made for ever. --- This one Act, if rightly underſtood and firmly adhered to, is a Treaſure of ſuch a Value, that tho' purchaſed at the Rate of all our Sufferings and Strugglings during theſe hundred Years of Mal-Adminiſtration, and tho' preſerved with the Hazard of our Fortunes and Lives, yet I may truly ſay, *Tanti eſt.*

I wiſh, as obliged by Duty and Inclination, long Life & Health to Her preſent Majeſty; and I ſhall afterwards ſhew, That it is not our Intereſt to be deprived of Her in Haſte, --- and altho' it were our Intereſt, yet we ſhould not deſerve to be Ranked amongſt the Number of Men, if we could wiſh Her Death, by whoſe Love and Favour our ſelves and our Poſte-

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rity, may if they will, (and if we will not, 'tis none of Her Fault) live happy in all After-ages. Mean time, I beg leave, to *suppose*, That the unwelcome and grating News of Her Demise have reached our Ears: -- In that Case 'the Administration of Affairs must instantly be in the Hands (not of 'a Party over-ruled by *English* or any other Foreign Popish 'or Prelatick Influence) but of such of the Members of the 'Estates of Parliament, and such Members of the Privy Coun-'cil (the Plurality being always of the Estates) as are at, 'or would come to *Edinburgh*, within the Space of Twenty 'Days. -- All Commissions granted to Officers of State, 'Lords of Treasury and Exchequer, President of the Privy 'Council, *&c.* -- And the Commissions of all Officers of the 'Standing Forces above a Captain, become Void and Null, 'within sixty Days, -- The Parliament Meets, -- But in it 'there can be no Person, who hath been or is Popish, -- *Nor* 'no *Englishman*, -- nor Foreigner having a *Scots* Title, and 'not having a *Scots* Estate, -- *N*either have the said Meeting 'of Estates any Power to nominate a Successor to the Crown 'of this Kingdom, during the first Twenty Days after their '*M*eeting, -- Which Twenty Days being elapsed, they may 'proceed to the said Nomination, -- And in the *mean time*, it 'is High Treason for any Person to Administrate the Coro-'nation Oath, or be Witness to the Administrating thereof, 'till the Appointment of the Estates; -- or to Own, or Ac-'knowledge any Person as King or Queen, until they have 'Sworn the Coronation Oath, and accepted the Crown in the 'Terms of *the Claim of Right*, and of such other Conditions 'of Government as may be added, *&c.*

Thus *We should* in a Minute, *become a Free, Independent and Unbyassed People*; -- Thus we should equally *be Guarded against* French *and* English *Influence*, *Popery* and *Prelacy*, -- *Nor should it be in the power of our Own Ministry, nor Soldiery, to overawe*

or

or byass us, although they had a mind to it; --Nay, nor would it be *in the Power of the* very *Parliament* it self, *to be prepostrous or overforward* IN NAMING A SUCCESSOR; -- But they might Hasten or Protract that Grand Affair, as Prudence and Circumstances should require; -- For in this Point, they are only obliged to use *all Convenient Diligence*.

Thus, after settling the Nation in a State of Quiet (for, who will or dare stir against a Parliament wholly *Scotish*, and evidently uncorrupted?) -- And, at the same time in a Posture of Defence (for the Regular Forces stand as before, and the Militia by this time may be Modelled to purpose, as I shall afterwards shew) What is it our Eyes can Covet or Hearts Desire, but we shall have in Conjunction with any Potentate or People under the Sun, to whom we shall think fit to Apply? -- THEN, and never till then, MAY WE TREAT ABOUT AN UNION WITH ENGLAND; -- Then shall we our selves, and not their Sovereign, have the Nomination of our own Commissioners; -- Then shall we be Rid of *English* Emissaries, Agents and Courtiers. -- Then, if *England* shall attempt to Seduce our Judgments, or Bribe our Wills; must they do it with their own Moneys, and not with Our own Places of Trust and Profit; And then, O HAPPY TIME! shall it neither be said, nor thought, That such, or such a Member of Parliament has made this, or t'other Bargain, -- Or has got this or t'other Preferment for his Vote.

I do not believe, any one will offer to say, That *England* in this Case would decline to Treat or Unite with us; that on the contrary, they cannot choose but to be much more forward, and by consequence, that we cannot fail of better Terms, is obvious to any thing capable of a Thought. I suppose the Duke of *Hanover* is their King by this time, and we have as yet no King at all; but as the Ingenious Author above cited elegantly Expresses the thing.

That we are free to chooſe for our own Share,
What Caſe of Government we pleaſe to wear;

His Electoral Highneſs, is one of the Remoteſt Relations to the *Engliſh* Crown, as he is to ours; --- And they cannot but know, that by Entailing their Crown upon him, they have Entail'd *an Eternal War* upon themſelves; --- And that while any of the Nearer a Kin to Her preſent Majeſty, ſhall be ſupported by any Power, much more, if any of theſe ſhall Renounce and Abjure *the Errors of* their *Education*; the *Engliſh* who now are, nor their Children, nor the Children of their Children, can never enjoy *a laſting Peace*: --- They have not yet forgotten the Tragical Hiſtory of their Jarring, and alternately Reigning Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*; --- And they are too wiſe not to know, that in the Caſe propoſed, we are able to kindle a Flame in their own Bowels, which another War of Eighteen Years ſtanding, will not perhaps be able to extinguiſh.

From whence, it is plain, That to have us Re-ingaged in the ſame Quarrel, Re-embarqued in the ſame Veſſel, and Obliged as now, to Man their Fleets, and to Fight their Battels for our own ſakes, and in our own, as well as their Defence; There's no Equivalent we can in Reaſon ask, but they muſt needs have much more Reaſon to grant. --- They had no ſuch Apprehenſions within, nor from without themſelves, when after having Defeat us at *Muſſelburgh*, Conquered half our Country, and ſet up their Triumphant Standard, within ſight of, and at the very Gates of our Capital, *They offered us ſuch Terms of Union, as we now ſeek*, and will Infallibly re-obtain, whenever we are but Maſters of our own Wills, and dare to Act as we Think.

But

But if contrary to Senſe, Reaſon, and which is more, to their own known and viſible Intereſt, they ſhall offer to unite us, (for an Union they ever did, and ever will aim at) by way of Conqueſt, and force of Arms; What then? The time was (and what has been, may be) when a War with *England* was ſo far from being a Bugbear, as now it is, that on the contrary, the Wiſeſt and Greateſt of our Kings recommended to us by his laſt Dying Advice, *That we ſhould never give way to the Concluſion of a Peace with them.* --- And during the Truces which afterwards enſued from time to time, What Ferments were not raiſed in our Blood? What Itchings did we not feel, till we were Bleſſed a new by a Rupture?--I own the Fetters they have tyed us with ſince theſe Days, have both enervated our Limbs, and debaſed our Courages, and that we are now in no Condition to wage War with *England*.

But I return to *The Act of Security*, 'By it the whole Pro-'teſtant Heretors, and all the Burghs within the Kingdom 'are furthwith *ordained* to provide themſelves with Arms 'for all the Fencible Men within their reſpective Bounds, and 'to Exerciſe and Diſcipline their ſaid Fencible Men.

Now if this part of the Law is duly executed throughout the whole Kingdom, as it is in a great Meaſure already in the Weſtern, and ſome of our Highland Shires; I dare ſay, that before Her Majeſty's Death (and this is one Reaſon amongſt a great many, why it is our Intereſt that ſhe ſhould live long) we may be in no ſuch deſpicable Poſture, as to encourage our Neighbours to an Invaſion. --- The *Dutch* have no Concern, nor Temptation that way. ---- The *French* are not like to have Power enough for ſuch an Exploit; They ly at a Diſtance, and we are Guarded from their Inſults by the Sea they are not Maſters of: --- Beſides, they'll fear, leſt if provoked by them, we ſtrick up an over-early Bargain with the *Engliſh*; and theſe laſt will take Care, how

they set Fire to our Houses, lest it consume their own. ---- We may find Friends amongst our very Foes in that Case. Some *English-men*, either of the High or Low Church, may chance to favour our Cause. ---- The *Scots* in *Ireland* will not see their Mother Country over-powered with unconcerned Looks, and how far the whole Inhabitants of that enslaved Island may dip in the Quarrel, is not to be easily guessed at. ---- One thing we are assured of, The *English* Cities, Armies, Plantations and Fleets will miss our Courtiers, Soldiers, Trades-men and Sailers; And, if after all, we find that we are not a Match for them, *Europe* is wide, and we shall have no more occasion for Pass-ports from the *English* Court, when sent by our Independing Parliament to Confederate with Foreign States.

I hear, it is Alledged, That with *Holland* we can have no advantageous Alliance, because its Chief Branch of Trade is the same with ours: I am not sufficiently seen in Merchandizing to enquire into that Point, but one thing I know, *Holland* mistakes its real Interest very seldom. ---- And I leave it to the World to judge, whether or not it seems to be the Interest of *Holland*, that we and the *English* should remain united, under one King, and that, that King the most Potent on Earth by Sea, should also possess large Territories on the Continent adjacent to, or not very Remote from the Rampiers of their Towns. ---- Who knows not (if Conversant with Men or Books, or in the least acquainted with the present and by-past State of *Europe*) That *England* and *Holland*, as they are the two Nations in the World, the most Thriving by Trade, and the most Potent by Sea; so they are fixed in a State of Enmity the one to the other, and like Rivals in Love, can never be easie, whilst the *bewitching Beauty* they adore, shall continue to divide her equal Favours betwixt them? Their Reciprocal Jealousies have often

broke

broke out into Violence, and Wars. --- And, were it not for the Over-topping Raviſher *France*, theſe, as of old the *Grecian* contending Powers, could never cordially reconcile; but now, that *Hector* is at the laſt Gaſp, the Out-works at leaſt of *Troy* ſet in a Flame, and *Spain* the *Helena* of our Age, in a great Meaſure regained; and by this means the Bond of Common Intereſt untyed: --- Who doubts, but in a ſhort time, their private Animoſities will revive? *Holland* has not yet forgotten the Campaign of 1672, when Invaded from the Continent by *France* and *Munſter*, and hemm'd in from the Sea by the *Engliſh*, they gave themſelves over for Loſt, and were preparing to make their Eſcape as far as the Remoteſt *Indies*. --- And 'tis plain, that what *England*, *France*, and *Munſter* did then; *England* and *Hanover* may, when they pleaſe, re-iterate.

From whence I conclude, That it cannot but be the Intereſt of *Holland* to *Unite* with us, who alone are able, by making an In-road into *England*, to preſerve their Glory and Wealth; and if this is their Intereſt, let them alone for that: Believe me, they'll never baulk our Suit. --- Beſides, if we *Unite* with *England*, the leaſt Miſchief the *Hollanders* can look for, is (and our Uniters tell us plainly, it muſt and ſhall be ſo) the inevitable Ruin of their Fiſherie, the moſt Valuable Treaſure they ever poſſeſſed: And this we, and we alone, can effectually ſecure them in, and aſſiſt them to manage and improve by a hundred different Means too well known to require to be numbred. --- Neither is it true, that the Chief Branch of their Trade is the ſame with ours; if ſo, What ſhould induce them to give us a Staple-Port, to allow us, as they do, to import our Coal, Lead-Ore, Skins, &c.?-- Why do they exact little or no Cuſtoms for theſe Commodities? --- Have we not a Conſervator of our Privileges there, Conſtituted as Judge in all Cauſes betwixt *Scots* Men? Nominated

minated by our own Sovereign, and Accountable to none but our own Royal Burrows? -- The *English* our Fellow-Subjects were never so kind. On the other hand, do not they furnish us with all Grocery Wares? And will the *English* Ships bring these to us from *Holland* and *Germany*, as cheap as now we have them? -- We have little or no Shipping of our own; and the Author of *the Observations on the fifth Article of the Treaty of Union*, has most obligingly informed us, how much more easily we shall have Ships from *Holland* than from *England*. He tells us, 'That when in the last *Dutch* War, 'the Ships taken from *Holland* as Prize, were made free, the 'People bought *Dutch* Ships, caused shamm Privateers to 'take them; and for several Years some hundreds of them 'were employed in their Coal-Trade, to *England*'s prodigi-'ous Loss, and to the Ruin of the Town of *Ipswick*, where 'all the large Coal-Ships used to be built, -- which Loss 'that Town never recovered. *Ex ore tuo te judico.*

I need not tell the World, That the Church Government in *Holland* is much at one with ours in *Scotland*; That the Seven Provinces, which make up that Powerful State, are fastned together, not by an Incorporating, but by a Federal Union; and that each Province is Sovereign and Independent within it self: All-mighty Encouragements, in my Opinion, both for Us and Them to Unite and Confederate in the same manner. But I shall proceed.

From *France*, 'tis said, Few Advantages can be reaped, till *The Old Offensive and Defensive League* be revived; and Why should it not be revived? -- This would give Umbrage to the *English*, and occasion a War betwixt them and us. 'Tis very likely it might.-- But if we should Conquer *England* with the Assistance of *France*, *Scotland* by that Conquest could not hope to better its present State, for the Conquerour would make his Residence in *England*; That I do not much

doubt

doubt of; But then I conceive, he would be so kind as to Gratify those who should help him in the Conquest with all the Privileges of Trade, &c. the Vanquished had a Claim to; And the Independency and Sovereignty of *Scotland* would remain entire, nay and acquire a new Lustre; and this is all we contend for: -- But truly I have no hopes we shall ever attain to all the Advantages of an *English* Trade, by means of a Conquest over them; We may, and I doubt not, but we will obtain them by a fair Treaty, if we but ly by at present, till enabled by vertue of Our *Act of Security* to treat with them upon equal Terms: -- Which if we do not, we shall certainly attain to the like, or greater Advantages by means of a League with *France*.

France is now a Trading Nation, they have Plantations in *America*; and their Fleets and Factories are conspicious in *Persia*, *Turkey*, *Africa* and the *East-Indies*, no less than the *English*. -- 'Tis true, they are eclipsed at the time by the joint Power of *England* and *Holland* together; but I cannot tell how far they would be so, if they had to do with either of them a part. -- I know as little, whether *Charles* or *Philip* shall prevail in *Spain*; if the last, 'tis probable *France* will share considerably in the Golden Product of *Mexico* and *Peru*; and consequently so may we, if Allied with *France*. -- 'Twill always be the Interest of *France* to support and to enrich us for their own Sakes, and in Opposition to the Ancient, and at this very time the Greatest Depressors of their *Grandeur*. -- They cannot fear we shall ever become too Great, with respect to their Interest: -- We can open no Back-door to the Invasion of their Enemies, -- They will not think it proper nor convenient for themselves, that we should conquer *England*; -- And thereby the Objection of our King's coming again to Reside in that more Southern Climate, is cut off; -- And they'll scarcely think it worth their while to

attempt

attempt a Conqueſt over us, for that were an effectual Method to loſe us again, -- And if they ſhould, whoever ſits on the Throne of Good Queen *Eliſabeth*, will certainly for his own Sake eſpouſe our Quarrel in that Caſe, with no leſs Ardour than She did in ſuch another.

In a word, without the leaſt hazard of annihilating our *Scots* Name, Sovereignty or Conſtitution; we may again be all *Frenchmen*, as we once were: -- We ſhall partake of all the Privileges, Honours, Preferments of Native Subjects, and ly under none of their Burdens, -- We ſhall take full Draughts of the Sweet, without taſting the Bitter of their Government. -- We ſhall eat their Fruits, and drink their Wines at *Edinburgh*, cheaper than they themſelves at *Paris*. -- Our Artiſts and Trades-men may be improven into an equal Skill with theirs; -- And the *Engliſh* Court, out-done by ours in Politneſs, ſhall be fain to borrow our Modes, and to imitate our Manners. -- If our Men fight their Battels, they ſhall have double Pay for their Valour; -- If theirs come over at any time to our Defence, their own Treaſures muſt maintain them. -- Nay, our very Men will prove an inexhauſtible Commodity, and a Glorious Trade, as the *Switzers* are to their more Barren Soil, and when they are Enriched Abroad with Monies and Lawrels, they may and will come Home, and teach us to Vanquish and Thrive.

But *France* is now humbled, their Lillies are taught to Spin, and their Declining State is ſhaken by the Superiour *Engliſh Aſcendant*; -- So much the better for us, they'll Court our Allyance the rather, and our Terms will be the more Adventageous; -- *France* is humbled. Very true, and by that means our Allarms are alayed, and *our Fears of a Popiſh Intruſion are over*, with the Dread of an *Univerſal Monarchy*; -- Yet *France* is not ſo very low, as of old when the *Engliſh* were Abſolute Maſters of *Normandy*, *Poictou*, *Xaintoigne*-,

logne, &c. And then it was, when our Country Men were raised to the highest Pitch of Honour and Glory; --- Then it was, when we Ruled their Court, and Commanded their Army: --- *Scotsmen* were Marishals, yea, and Constables of *France*; Dignities equal to that of a Grand Vizier in *Turky*, and were it Hereditary, Superior to that of an Elector of the Empire; --- His Grace the Duke of *Marleborough*, for all his most eminent Services, has not yet been more Liberally Rewarded or Honoured by any of the High Allies.

There is one, and indeed *a very material Objection* that stands in the way, and looks like an invincible Barrier in Opposition to a *French* Alliance. --- *France is Popish, and their King a signal Persecutor of the Protestant Name and Cause*; --- Yet if we will please but to lay Prejudices aside, and look about us with impartial Eyes, I am not afraid to say, That this only Obstacle may be removed. --- The *French* are for *Uniformity* in Matters of Religion amongst themselves; so are the *English*, and so are we, if we could Convert without Dragooning; --- But I Read no where, That the *French* have been so Bigottedly Zealous, as to Force or obtrude Popery upon other Nations; on the contrary, they have, ever since the Reformation commenced in *Europe*, entered in Leagues and Treaties with *Protestants* in Opposition to such Popish Powers as Rivalled their Greatness at the time: --- They protected the first Reformers against the Emperor *Charles* the fifth; --- They assisted the *Dutch* against *Philip* the second of *Spain*; --- They remitted effectual Supplies of Money to our own Fathers in the Reign of *Charles* the first; --- They have preserved an Inviolable League with the Protestant as well as *Popish* Cantons of *Switzerland*; --- Without their Monies and Succours, the Great *Gustavus* of *Swedland* had never Over-run the *Popish* part of the Empire; --- And at this very Day they are supposed to Favour and Support the Protestant Mal-Contents in *Hungary*.

But *Self-Interest* was still *at the Bottom*; -- Yes, indeed, -- and from a Principle of Self-Interest, they will most cheerfully renew their Ancient League with us, and will stand to it so long as their Interest requires, and that will be so long as they are one People, and the *English* another; Nay, I may say, so long as they have not Conquered, or been themselves subjected by their Neighbours: the first, I take it, 'tis now manifest, they will never be able to effect, and the last will not much conduce towards the equal Ballance of *Europe*. -- He knows little of the present, or by-past Transactions of Christendom, who knows not, That the House of *Austria* has been always much more Catholick, *that is*, in its own Sense, Persecuting, than the House of *Bourbon*; yet we see the present and last Emperors, and Kings of *Spain*, have entered in Leagues, and prosecuted a War in Conjunction with our selves, the *English*, *Dutch*, and *German* Protestants, against the Popish King of *France*, to the Ruin of a Popish King of *Britain*, and the almost entire Destruction of the Popish Perswasion in this Island; -- The Protestant and Popish Cantons are united together in a Federal League, as well Cemented as many Incorporating ones, and with These *Geneva* it self; -- The Protestant and Popish Princes, and States in *Germany*, make up altogether but one great Common-Wealth, *The Empire*. -- The Protestant King of *Sweden*, and a Popish Pretender in *Poland*, carry on a joint War against a Popish King, shall I say, or a Protestant Duke. -- Nay, Protestant Brethren and their Popish Country-men in *Hungary*, at this very minute, are suing for a *Mahumetan* Alliance at the *Ottoman* Court, and who can blame them?

In short, when mutual Interest tyes, Protestant and Popish States may be, are and have been very closely conjoined; and if our Interest requires it, and our Oppression forces us to it, I mean, if no Protestant State will daigne, nor can be prevailed

ed with, to Confederate with us upon equal Terms, I see no reason why we should not better our Condition, and retrive our lost Glory, Riches and Independencie, although by the help of a Popish or *French* Allyance. -- We live in a Providential Age, and this is a Reign of Wonders, who knows, but before we can think upon any such Measures, (and this is another Great Reason, why it is our Interest, that Her Majesty, who seems to be born to work them, should live long) Who knows, I say, but *the Edict of* Nants, may be again Restored to *France*, and the present King, as is most probable, by old Age, if not otherways, cut off? -- Who knows what may be latent in the dark Recesses of Time? And why should we thus Inconsiderately run our selves and our Posterity into Visible and Known Precipices, whilst by a more Sedate and Orderly Retreat, we may yet retrive our *Malheurs*.

Whilst Ancient *Rome* was on the brink of Ruine, Overpowered, and Foiled again and again by *Carthage*, its then Superior Rival, a *Roman* General, by a Wise and Glorious Inaction, did something more than to regain the Trophies it had lost, *Cunctando restituit Rem*, he Vanquished by shunning to Fight, and Conquered by timely Retreating. -- I have endeavoured to prove, That we may do the same; neither are we yet so far advanced in the Business, either of the Succession or Union, but that we may Retreat. -- What can never be undone, should be very long a doing; and what is well done, is always soon done.

But if we delay to close with *England*, they will revive their *Alienating Act*; --- If they do, 'tis a very unjust thing; but in that Case, we must even do our best; prohibit the Import of their Goods, such as Coaches, Houshold Furniture, &c. --- We may also discharge the Import of Holland, Muslin, *Chiny*-Wares, and in general, all such Foreign Commodities, as we can want; learn Frugality and Parsimony; and,

I hope, 'twill be found upon a ſerious ſcrutiny, That there may be ſuch *Sumptuary Laws* enacted, as partly by keeping our Monies at Home, and partly by Importing Monies from Abroad, in lieu of unneceſſary and ſuperfluous Toys, will do more than compenſate the Loſs we may ſuſtain in our Cattle, &c. -- Beſides, I doubt much the *Engliſh* can long want either our Cattle or Linnen; and I am apt to think, That if they could be as conveniently provided by others, in theſe Things, they had ſcarcely allowed us the Profit we have reaped by them till now. However,

I acknowledge, I am no Merchant, but I preſume Our Royal Burrows, who are, have foreſeen and examined this, the only Material or ſolid Argument I ever heard propoſed by the moſt zealous Promoters of the Union or Succeſſion: Yet, if what I have ſaid, and the much greater Authority of the Royal Burrows, ſeems not convincing, I ſhall refer my Reader to the *Eſſay upon Induſtry and Trade*, which will effectually remove his Scruples. -- But although we ſhould ſuffer for ſome time in that Matter, I do not ſee, why that Inconſiderable Prejudice ſhould hurry us on to certain Ruin; when by a little Delay we are ſure to be made Happy in all after-Ages, either by a more ſteddy, more equal, and better cemented Union with *England*, which I believe, 'tis impoſſible we can fail to obtain; or by Separating entirely from that Nation and Crown, and betaking our ſelves to another Allyance.

Thus, I humbly conceive, I have evinced; and thus, I have for once, made bold, (as I think, every body ſhould in an Emergency of this Nature) to preſent the Publick with my private Thoughts: And to the Publick I muſt, and ſhall with all Humility ſubmit my ſelf and them. If any one ſhall chance to take me to Task, and redreſs me to Purpoſe, I am his moſt humble Servant; but I mean not to engage in a Paper-war; I do not under Pay; 'tis not my Trade to write Pamphlets, and I have not Leiſure to trifle or ſcold away my never returning Time.

F I N I S.

ERRATA, *Pag.* 13. *l.* 29. *for*, with things, *read*, with Kings. *Pag.* 19 *l.* laſt, *for* all in four, *read*, in all four.